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# SPEECH

BY THE

HON. ELIHU ROOT,

Secretary of War,

AT

Canton, Ohio,

OCTOBER 24, 1900.



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#### FELLOW CITIZENS:

A heavy burden of proof rests upon those who ask the American people to reject the further services of the Republican Administration. Under that Administration the legitimate objects of government have been attained to a degree which challenges comparison with the happiest periods in the life of any nation in any age. Never in human history anywhere on earth have security for life and property, unfettered opportunity for intelligence and energy, individual freedom, and the self-respect of manhood, attained a higher level than now marks the condition of this fortunate Republic.

The material results of wise and successful government are visible on every hand. We never before have had so many million people owning their own homes unencumbered, so many million people with accumulated earnings in savings banks, such universal employment of labor at such good wages, such abundant production from farm and factory and workshop of all material things which meet the necessities and contribute to the comfort and pleasure of life. The markets for our products are extending over the whole earth. Abundant home capital is obtainable at lower rates of interest than were ever known before for the productive enterprise which employs labor and creates wealth. We are rapidly paying our debts to Europe for the money borrowed to build our railroads and develop our country, so that the constant drain upon our earnings for the payment of interest abroad is ceasing; and we are lending money to Europe, so that the current of annual payments is setting in our direction. There never was in this world a greater body of people so well fed, well clothed and well housed.

Above and beyond all these material things are universal opportunities for education and the general exercise and training of intelligence. The newspaper, the magazine and the book find their way into the humblest home. The doors of our free schools are open to every child, and it is rare indeed that poverty withholds their access. The patriotism of the rich is devoting millions to the building up of colleges, technical schools and great universities, in which the poorest boy can rise to the loftiest heights of learning and intellectual power. Freedom of thought, freedom of speech and the constant consideration and discussion of political problems are training and exercising the whole people to a degree of competency for self-government never before equaled. The aris-

tocracy of America is the aristocracy of achievement. It is with intellectual and moral qualities that our people achieve fame and fortune. The pathway to the highest distinction is open to every boy who thumbs his primer in the common school. Inherited wealth is a hindrance rather than an aid in the race of life. Call the roll of those whom the nation has honored—the President and his cabinet, the great judges, the great senators, the great congressmen, the great governors—call the roll of the men whose great fortunes are the causes of envy and disparagement, and among them all you will find that the man who cannot look back upon a youth of privation and struggle, with no capital but his own energy and ambition, is the exception. The softening and ennobling influences of charity and religion find sway in every community. Hospitals and asylums and libraries and schools and churches grow apace with homes and manufactories, and the swift response to every appeal of humanity for the relief of misfortune answers to the quickened activity of industrial enterprise.

Of course this happy condition has not been created by government, but without good government it could not have been created. Without sound governmental policy and wise and efficient governmental administration, the blessings which we have enumerated would have been impossible. Government does not make crops grow, or weave cloth, or mould iron; but wise government opens the markets for crops and for cloth and for iron, and for the want of it you and I have seen corn burned for fuel in the valley of the Mississippi, cloth unsalable gathering dust in the warehouses of New England, ores unquarried and furnaces unfired among the hills of Pennsylvania and Alabama, and the productive power of millions of American workingmen idle and helpless. Government does not make enterprise; but wise government evokes enterprise by the certainty of reward for its activity. Government does not invest capital; but wise government gives to capital that confidence in security for its investment which draws it from the hiding places of distrust and transmutes it into the plant and material out of which labor creates prosperity. Government does not give employment to labor, but wise government creates the conditions under which industrial activity employs labor. Prosperity does not come by chance. History is full of examples of earth's fairest regions nourishing only poverty, misery and degradation, because of the folly and incompetency or corruption of government. We are not without illustrations in our own land, of the ruin which can be wrought by unwise government and the attempts of men in power to apply crude and impracti-

cable theories to the complicated and delicate machinery of industrial life. Under bad government no fertility of soil, no thrift or industry of population, can bring prosperity to a people. Security, opportunity, confidence, activity of trade and labor, are the fruits of good government alone. All these the American people secured for themselves when in the election of 1896 they committed the powers of government to the hands of President McKinley and a Republican Congress.

There is another field in which the decision of 1896 has justified itself. I am sure no really patriotic American who loves his country more than he desires office can have failed to be gratified by a certain competency and effectiveness in President McKinley's dealings with other powers. No Administration during this generation at least has been confronted with such a succession of difficult undertakings outside of our own country. There may be just criticism in details, and there certainly has been much that was unjust, but what are the results?

In April, 1898, Spain had an army of 400,000 veteran troops, and a navy which in numbers and armament appeared and was generally believed to be at least equal to ours. The whole continent of Europe anticipated that Spain would hold the land and sweep the seas, blockade our ports, and frustrate our arms until European intervention should paralyze our superior ultimate resources. But whose ships were ready and staunch and sound? Whose ammunition was honest and effective? Whose soldiers and sailors were trained? Who swept the seas? Whose flag floats over Santiago and San Juan and Havana and Manila? Find if you can anywhere in history so great results secured against so considerable a foe by force of arms on land and sea in so brief a time, and with so small a loss of life.

The attack of the Tagalog insurgents upon our troops at Manila, in February, 1899, required the President, under the authority of Congress, to raise and equip and train an army, and transport it half way round the world for the defence of American sovereignty against the force of arms. When that army arrived in the fall of last year, a Tagalog sympathizer declared exultingly that we held no more territory in the Philippines than a bicycle rider could surround in a single day. Within three months the insurgent army and the insurgent government ceased to exist, and we hold all the islands which were subject to Spanish rule without opposition, save from fugitive bands, half guerrilla and half bandit, who are shooting our men from ambush, and blackmailing and pillag-

ing and murdering their own countrymen until that happy day when their prayers may be answered by the election of an American President who will yield American sovereignty to savage force and deliver the peaceful and unresisting people of the Philippines and the wealth and commerce of Manila over to their cruel and bloody domination.

When the Democratic Convention met at Kansas City in July last, all Europe believed that dreadful massacre had swept into oblivion all the ministers and legations of the civilized world in Peking. The Admirals of the European powers at Taku had agreed upon 60,000 troops as the number necessary to march to Peking, and they were awaiting the slow collection of that force from the four quarters of the globe. London had arranged a memorial service in memory of her dead. A frightful war of retribution, the destruction of the dynasty, the removal of all restraint of law over 400,000,000 of people, the partition of China, the destruction of our markets and our trade seemed inevitable; but American diplomacy opened the sealed gates of the Tartar City and revealed to the world the representatives of civilization living, defending themselves against almost overwhelming hordes, under constant fire of shot and shell, with ammunition and food nearly gone, hoping, but almost despairing, for the relief which never would have come but for American faith and American persistency. Then American soldiers and American sailors pressed for rescue, for immediate movement, and 17,000 men made the march and did the work of the 60,000, and Peking fell and the legations were saved and the world rejoiced. And now the legations saved, we continually press for peace and reasonableness and justice. I think we may safely say that during all this trying time in China not one act of wrong, or injustice, and not one moment's faltering in the assertion of American rights mars our record.

All this and many other less conspicuous and striking things done for the benefit and honor of our country have not happened by chance. High credit, honest expenditure, sound material, ships in readiness, guns and ammunition effective, sailors and soldiers well armed, equipped, trained and disciplined, consistent and effective diplomacy, prompt and decisive action, prosperity and order at home, respect and honor abroad are the infallible proofs of a strong, wise, safe and honest Administration. It is easy to carp and criticise. It is easy to point to failures of government to reach the ideal standard of perfection, but as compared with all the governments there are or ever have been in this imperfect and erring



world, the Administration now drawing to a close should awaken the satisfaction and pride of the American people to whom it renders its account.

And has not our President so borne himself in his great office that his virtues plead trumpet-tongued? Who shall estimate the value to American character of having in this place of highest honor and power this man of blameless life, of simple and unostentatious piety, whose character is fairly resplendent with the beauty of pure and unselfish domestic virtues? How ripe is the wisdom gained from his long experience in faithful and distinguished public service as Congressman, as leader of the House, as Governor and as President. What a perpetual testimony before all the world of the living truth of popular government is his ever anxious devotion to the people's will—a devotion in which he stands by Lincoln's side, subject, as was Lincoln, to the sneers of the thoughtless, but certain, as was Lincoln, to win the ultimate meed of praise that always waits on loyalty to great ideals.

The logic of events has proved that the American people were right when they rejected Mr. Bryan and the theories of his false democracy in 1896. The people are confirmed in their judgment, and great numbers who honestly believed that Bryan was right then have come to a clearer vision in the light of experience and follow him no longer.

Bryan and his associate leaders, who would make up his Administration if he were elected, are not convinced. They do not accept the verdict of '96. They intend now, as they intended then, to put this country on a silver basis by the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one; to sacrifice our national honor and credit, and substitute in the wages of labor, and the payment of honest debts, the fifty-cent dollar in place of the dollar worth one hundred cents the world over, under which all our prosperity has been attained. They intend now, as they intended then, to destroy the protective tariff, which they declare to be unconstitutional, and subject our manufacturing industries again to the fate which befell them under the Wilson tariff. They intend now, as they intended then, to deprive of power that great bulwark of constitutional liberty, the federal judiciary. They seek now, as they sought then, to excite animosities and foment discord among the people; to deceive by false promises of the demagogue, and to profit themselves by creating a warfare of class against class. The issues of 1896 remain open, avowed, insisted upon.

They have learned nothing, and they have abandoned nothing, but they have despaired of securing from the Ameri-

can people a judgment upon those issues reversing the decision of '96, and they have invented a new issue which they call "imperialism," and upon this issue they ask the people to give them the power to do all that the people refused in 1896 to let them do. "This," says the Kansas City platform, "we regard as the paramount issue of the campaign." To this Mr. Bryan practically confined himself in his speech of acceptance.

What is the meaning of paramount issue? What becomes of other issues when one is paramount? We should naturally suppose that to treat one particular issue as paramount involved leaving all other questions in abeyance and undetermined, to be taken up and decided at some future time when the one all-important and burning question has been disposed of. Is that what Mr. Bryan means? Does he mean to leave the other issues of his party in abeyance, awaiting future decision? Does he declare—nay, does he leave the possibility of inference that his party, if put into power at the coming election, will not act upon the silver question, will not act on the tariff question, will not act on the judiciary question? *No!* He proposes to act, and he will act, if elected, and a Democratic Congress will act, if elected, to reverse the judgment of '96 upon every issue then before the people. Imperialism is not paramount enough for *him* to abandon anything. It is not paramount for him. It is paramount only for those who were opposed to him in 1896, and the effect of its being paramount is merely that the sound money men, the protective tariff men, the law and order men of 1896 are to abandon their principles and their convictions, and surrender upon every issue of the Democratic platform of 1896.

What is this issue which is so important to all Mr. Bryan's late opponents, and so unimportant to him?

Imperialism! The word has a familiar sound. The cry is one of the cheapest and most threadbare of the demagogue's stock, always certain to produce a sensation among a people alert for the protection of their liberties. Jefferson was denounced as an imperialist; Lincoln was denounced as an imperialist; Grant was denounced as an imperialist; and as to all three of these great and liberty-loving men the party of opposition made the country resound with loud campaign outcries that they were about to strangle the liberties of the country by military force, just as they are now clamoring against President McKinley. Is there any more in the cry now than there was in the days of Jefferson, of Lincoln and of Grant? Is the character of our institutions really about to be changed, or are our liberties really in

danger? Is the issue substantial, or is it but the damagogue's cry?

The charge is that President McKinley has been guilty of something called imperialism, in his treatment of the people of the Philippine Islands. Something so foreign to the character of our institutions and so dangerous to our liberties that it requires the American people to ignore the wisdom and efficiency of his Administration at home and abroad in other respects—to reject now and hereafter the services which have been so beneficial to them in the past and to put into power Mr. Bryan and his associates, with full warrant to accomplish all the purposes they profess, which the majority of the people believe will be so fatal to the honor, the credit and the prosperity of our country.

What has President McKinley done in the Philippines?

On the 6th of February, 1899, the Senate of the United States approved the Treaty of Peace with Spain. By the Third Article of that treaty Spain ceded to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands; the United States agreed to pay Spain twenty million dollars; and in the Ninth Article the treaty provided that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territory ceded to the United States should be determined by the Congress.

The examination of Mr. Bryan's charge of imperialism may commence with this treaty, because it was confirmed by the Senate in a large measure by Democratic votes, with the earnest and active support and advocacy of Mr. Bryan.

Upon the advisability, the wisdom and validity of that treaty both the candidates for the Presidency, therefore, are agreed; and in considering the charge made by Mr. Bryan against President McKinley we start with the proposition that the treaty which vested in the United States the sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and committed the rights and political status of its inhabitants to the determination of the Congress of the United States was right.

On the fourth of February, two days before the Senate approved the treaty, an army of Tagalogs, a tribe inhabiting the central part of Luzon, under the leadership of Aguinaldo, a Chinese half-breed, attacked, in vastly superior numbers, our little army in the possession of Manila, and after a desperate and bloody fight, was repulsed in every direction. The treaty was confirmed by the Senate with the full knowledge of that attack. On the 2d of March, both Houses of Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, appropriated twenty millions of dollars, which the treaty provided to be paid to Spain on the cession of the Philippines; and on

the same day, in view of this hostile attack, Congress, by a vote which had the assent and concurrence of the leaders of the Democratic party in both Houses, authorized the President to increase the Regular Army from 27,500 men to 65,000, and to raise and equip 35,000 volunteers.

What President McKinley has done in the Philippines has been to defend and assert the sovereignty of the United States thus acquired with the assent of both parties and of both candidates for the Presidency, with the means thus placed in his hands by Congress. What is charged against him is that he did not yield or procure Congress to authorize him to yield the sovereignty of the United States acquired by the cession of Spain with the assent of both parties, to the force of those armed Tagalogs whose hands were red with the blood of American soldiers; place in their hands the government of the Philippine Islands, lower the American flag upon the walls of Manila and hurry away with our wounded and our dead from the bay made glorious by Dewey's victory.

The first specification under the charge is that it was unjust to the Filipinos not to do this. Of course it was impossible to do it. Self-respect forbade it, national honor forbade it; the whole world would have contemned and despised us if we had done it; the whole country would have risen in indignant protest against any President who dared to do it. But I will pass all that and treat the question as if it had been possible. What made it requisite as an act of justice that the government of the Philippines should be placed in the hands of Aguinaldo and his associates? Was there any promise or agreement or alliance that required it? No. This Government not only never authorized it, but the President expressly forbade anything of the kind. Admiral Dewey, who commanded our Naval forces, says there was nothing of the kind. General Anderson and General Merritt, who commanded the land forces, say there was nothing of the kind. True, our Democratic friends will not believe them. No length of honorable career, no splendid record of American citizenship, in their minds, entitles the American officer to be believed who testifies in favor of the Administration against Aguinaldo. Perhaps they will believe a Tagalog witness.

We have in our possession an original document, signed by Mabini, the president of Aguinaldo's cabinet, his chief adviser, and the brains of the insurrection. It is a paper of in-

structions to a commissioner sent upon a secret mission by the insurgent government, dated the 4th of January, 1899, and among its statements of fact for the commissioner's guidance, is found the following :

"The chief of the Philippine people has not made any agreement with the Government of the United States, but inspired by the same idea of destroying the sovereignty of Spain in these Islands, they have mutually assisted each other".

Though they believe not Moses and the Prophets, perhaps they will believe that.

Is there anything in the circumstances of the assistance which we have received from these men which entitles them to the reward of the sovereignty of the Philippines? Certainly not. When Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet and the City of Manila lay helpless under his guns, waiting only for our troops to come in and take possession, the rule of Spain in the Philippines received its death blow. There was no insurrection then in the Philippine Islands. The sovereignty and title of Spain stood unquestioned by the people of the Philippine Islands or by any one else on earth. There had been an insurrection led by Aguinaldo, but that had been terminated in the previous December by an agreement called the Treaty of Biac-na-Bato, under which Aguinaldo and his associates were bought off by the payment of \$400,000, and the promise of \$400,000 more on the performance of certain specified conditions which included their leaving the country. That insurrection had not been a struggle for independence, and the people of the Philippine Islands had never in their history demanded or sought independence from Spain, or the surrender of Spanish sovereignty. When Aguinaldo and his associates were brought from China to the Philippines by Admiral Dewey some weeks after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, they were but a band of adventurers, whose assistance was availed of as is that of the disaffected inhabitants of any invaded country, upon no terms conditions or implied obligations, other than those of reasonable reward for such services as they might render.

To make the situation perfectly clear, let me read to you from the treaty of Biac-na-Bato, which terminated the insurrection in December, 1897 :

"1. Don Emilio Aguinaldo in his quality as Supreme Leader of those in the Island of Luzon now waging open hostilities against their legitimate government

and Don Baldomero Aguinaldo and Don Mariano Llanera who also exercise important commands in the forces mentioned, are to cease their hostile attitude, surrender their arms that they are using against their fatherland, and are to surrender to the legitimate authorities *claiming their rights as Spanish Filipino citizens which they desire to preserve*. As a consequence of this surrender they obligate themselves to cause the surrender of such individuals as actually follow them and those who recognize them as leaders and obey their orders."

Let me read from the program formally prepared and signed for the carrying out of this treaty:

"25th December. Departure of Don Emilio Aguinaldo and his companions with Don Pedro A. Paterno and Don Miguel Primo de Rivera for Lingayan, where the Spanish government will have a merchant steamer to take them to Hong Kong, the gentlemen going aboard may take their revolvers and the two rifles asked for by Don Emilio Aguinaldo. On the departure of these gentlemen from Biac-na-Bato the Spanish Government will give, by Don Pedro A. Paterno to Balde-  
mero Aguinaldo a letter payable to the order of the Spanish-Filipino Bank upon some bank in Hong Kong for the sum of \$400,000, the cost of exchange being charged to the Spanish government," &c., &c., &c.

Nothing can be more preposterous than the proposition that these men were entitled to receive from us sovereignty over the entire country which we were invading. As well the friendly Indians, who have helped us in our Indian wars, might have claimed the sovereignty of the West. They knew that we were incurring no such obligation, and they expected no such reward. Their plan was to obtain from us arms and ammunition and protection while they collected an army: to use us to capture Manila, and then to take it from us by force of arms. In their vainglorious and half-savage estimate of their powers they believed they could do this. They believed they could drive us into the sea when the time came, and their attack upon our troops at Manila on the 4th of February, 1899, was in pursuance of a deliberate purpose and long preparation. Their plan was fully formed before they left China, and it was with truly Oriental treachery in their hearts that they accepted the hospitality and the assistance of our Navy.

At a meeting held in Hongkong on the 4th of May, 1898,

four days after the battle of Manila Bay, a meeting of the band was held to determine upon going to Manila with Dewey, and Agoncillo stated the proposition in these words:

"There will be no better occasion than the present for the expeditionary forces to land on those islands and to arm themselves at the expense of the Americans and assure the attainment of our legitimate aspirations against those very people.

"The Filipino people, unprovided with arms, will be the victim of the demands and exactions of the United States, but provided with arms will be able to oppose themselves to them and struggle for their independence, in which consists the true happiness of the Filipinos."

Agoncillo's proposition was unanimously approved, and the minutes of the meeting are in our possession, signed by the conspirators, with Aguinaldo's name at the head. Transported by us to Luzon, furnished with arms and ammunition by us, they collected and organized an army about the walls of Manila, of Tagalogs and discharged Spanish soldiers and all the bandits and pirates of those coasts, until they felt strong enough to execute their purpose.

On the 9th of January, twenty-seven days before the treaty was confirmed, Aguinaldo issued his order to prepare for the attack.

"MALOLOS, 9th of January, 1899.

"Instructions to the Brave Soldiers of Sandatahan of Manila.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Article 2. All of the chiefs and Filipino brothers should be ready and courageous for the combat and should take advantage of the opportunity to study well the situation of the American outposts and headquarters. Observing especially secret places where they can approach and surprise the enemy.

"Article 3. The chief of those who go to attack the barracks should send in first four men with a good present for the American commander. Immediately after will follow four others who will make a pretense of looking for the same officer for some reason, and a larger group shall be concealed in the corners or houses in order to aid the other groups at the first signal. This, wherever it is possible, at the moment of attack.

"Article 4. They should not prior to the attack look at the Americans in a threatening manner. To the contrary, the



attack on the barracks by the Sandatahan should be a complete surprise and with decision and courage. One should go alone in advance in order to kill the sentinel.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Article 7. All Filipinos, real defenders of their country, should live on the alert to assist simultaneously the inside attack at the very moment that they note the first movement in whatever barrio or suburb, having assurance that all the troops that surround Manila will proceed without delay to force the enemy's line and unite themselves with their brothers in the city.

\* \* \* \* \*

"EMILIO AGUINALDO."

Of course our forces were ignorant then of the order and of the purpose, but they observed all over Manila Filipinos packing their goods and gathering their families and quietly slipping away from the city. They left by the thousands, and they left because they had notice of the proposed attack. One notification, signed by Aguinaldo, has fallen into our hands. It is a letter to a friend in Manila, dated on the 7th of January, 1899, four weeks before the attack, and in it he says:

"MY DEAR DON BENITO :

\* \* \* \* \*

"I beg you to leave Manila with your family and to come here to Malolos, but not because I wish to frighten you—I merely wish to warn you for your satisfaction, although it is not yet the day or the week."

The day was not then, but it came on the 4th of February when a body of Filipino troops marched under cover of the night, swiftly and silently, through our lines, regardless of the sentry's challenge, and, when he fired, volleys of musketry and roar of cannon upon every side commenced the proposed destruction of our army.

The bodies of our men who fell during that dreadful night and the days of conflict which followed have been brought back reverently across the Pacific and laid in honored graves among their countrymen. But, not yet—not yet has the soil stained by their blood been surrendered to their slayers. Not yet has the treacherous and wicked attack, which they died to defeat, been turned into victory by the act of an American President.



But, we are told that, irrespective of agreements, irrespective of anything said or done by the Filipino leaders, or by ourselves, we ought to transfer to them sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, because government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, and our maintenance of sovereignty is a violation of that great principle of the Declaration of Independence.

Nothing can be more misleading than a principle misapplied. Countless crimes have been committed by men quoting texts of Scripture or maxims of political philosophy wrested from their true context and meaning. The doctrine that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed was applicable to the conditions for which Jefferson wrote it, and to the people to whom he applied it. It is true wherever a people exists capable and willing to maintain just government, and to make free, intelligent and efficacious decision as to who shall govern. But Jefferson did not apply it to Louisiana. He wrote to Gallatin that the people of Louisiana were as incapable of self-government as children, and he governed them without their consent. Lincoln did not apply it to the South, and the great struggle of the Civil War was a solemn assertion by the American people that there are other principles of law and liberty which limit the application of the doctrine of consent. Government does not depend upon consent. The immutable laws of justice and humanity require that people shall have government, that the weak shall be protected, that cruelty and lust shall be restrained, whether there be consent or not.

When I consider the myriads of human beings who have lived in subjection to the rule of force, ignorant of any other lot, knowing life only as the beast of the field knows it, without the seeds of progress, without initiative or capacity to rise, submissive to injustice and cruelty and perpetual ignorance and brutishness, I cannot believe that, for the external forces of civilization, to replace brutal and oppressive government, with which such a people in ignorance are content, by ordered liberty and individual freedom and a rule that shall start and lead them along the path of political and social progress, is a violation of the principle of Jefferson, or false to the highest dictates of liberty and humanity.

The true question in the Philippines was, whether the withdrawal of the Spanish power which we had destroyed left a people capable of establishing and maintaining a free constitutional government; whether the humble and peaceable inhabitants, who constituted the great mass of the popula-

tion, were competent to protect themselves; whether the wealth and commerce of Manila, the merchants from all the nations of Europe who were gathered there, the producers of hemp and tobacco and rice, would be protected by a rule of law and order and justice, or whether, on the other hand, the people, incapable of governing themselves, would become the subjects of a dictatorship, or the prey of bloody discord. Let me read you what high authority declares as the universal lesson of history regarding the people of countries situated as are these islands when left to themselves. In a speech on the annexation of San Domingo, in the Senate of the United States on the 11th of January, 1871, my friend Mr. Schurz, who now charges that it was cruel injustice not to leave the Filipinos to govern themselves without control or guidance said:

“Read that history, read that of all other tropical countries, and then show me a single instance of the successful establishment and peaceable maintenance, for a respectable period, of republican institutions, based upon popular self-government, under a tropical sun. To show me one, do not confine your search to the West Indies; look for it anywhere else on the face of the globe in tropical latitudes. I challenge Senators to point their fingers to a single one. There is none, sir! \* \* \*

“\* \* \* The tropical sun inflames the imagination to inordinate activity and develops the government of the passions. The consequences are natural, and there is a tendency to govern by force instead of by argument; revolutions are of chronic occurrence, like volcanic outbreaks, and you will find political life continually oscillating between two extremes—liberty, which there means anarchy, and order, which there means despotism.”

The testimony is absolutely overwhelming that the people inhabiting the Philippine archipelago are incapable of self-government, and that the ~~fact~~ here described would have befallen these islands of the ~~Philippines~~ had American sovereignty been withdrawn. There is no Philippine people. The hundreds of islands which compose the archipelago are inhabited by more than eighty different tribes, speaking more than sixty different languages. They have no common medium of communication, and they never had a government except the arbitrary rule of Spain. Most of them have not the first conception of what self-government means, or the first qualification for its exercise. Many of them have the capacity to learn, but they have never learned.

The first Philippine Commission said of them :

“Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. And the indispensable need, from the Filipino point of view, of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos, and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos cannot stand alone. Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot, from any point of view, escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails ; and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands.”

This was the testimony of President Schurman, of Cornell ; of Professor Worcester, of Michigan ; of that old-time Democrat Charles Denby, our former Minister to China, and of Admiral George Dewey.

The present Philippine Commission says :

“A change of policy by turning the islands over to the coterie of Tagalog politicians will blight their fair prospects of enormous improvement, drive out capital, make life and property—secular and religious—most insecure, banish by fear of cruel proscription a considerable body of conservative Filipino people, who had aided Americans in well-founded belief that their people are not now fit for self-government, and reintroduce the same oppression and corruption which existed in all provinces under the Malolos insurgent government during the eight months of its control. The result will be factional strife between jealous leaders, chaos and anarchy, and will require and justify active intervention of our government or some other.”

This is the testimony of William H. Taft, of Ohio ; Luke E.

Wright, of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont; Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, and Professor Worcester, of Michigan. All of these commissioners were sent to the Philippine Islands to learn the truth, and to inform the President and Congress of the United States for the performance of their duty.

The President was not in the Philippine Islands. The Congress was not in the Philippine Islands. They were obliged to proceed upon evidence. And find if you can, anywhere in this land, a body of men whose conclusions are more entitled to credit and constitute a safer basis of official action than these. The year of Tagalog domination in Luzon was marked by the worst evils of semi-civilized misgovernment. The first Philippine Commission said of it:

“Throughout the archipelago at large there was trouble only at those points to which armed Tagalogs had been sent in considerable numbers. In general, such machinery of ‘government’ as existed served only for plundering the people under the pretext of levying ‘war contributions,’ while many of the insurgent officials were rapidly accumulating wealth. The administration of justice was paralyzed and crime of all sorts was rampant. Might was the only law. Never in the worst days of Spanish misrule had the people been so overtaxed or so badly governed. In many provinces there was absolute anarchy, and from all sides came petitions for protection and help, which we were unable to give.”

Pio del Pilar, Aguinaldo's most active General, was the most notorious bandit in the Philippines. The orders for a combined attack and rising within the city of Manila on the 15th of February, ten days after the Senate confirmed the treaty, contained these directions:

“First. You will so dispose that at 8 o'clock at night the individuals of the territorial militia, at your order, will be found united in all the streets of San Pedro, armed with their bolos and revolvers and guns and ammunition if convenient.

“Second. Philippine families only will be respected; they should not be molested, but all other individuals, of whatever race they may be, will be exterminated without any compassion, after the extermination of the army of occupation.”

Aguinaldo and Luna were rival chieftains. Aguinaldo rose

to supreme power over the body of Luna stabbed to death with swords upon Aguinaldo's threshold. The people of the Philippine Islands never consented to that government. It was a pure and simple military domination of Tagalogs. The Visayans distrusted and feared them. The people of the great Island of Negros raised the American flag, repelled the Tagalog invasion and are living to-day in contentment under our Government. The tribes of Northern Luzon received us with open arms. The ablest and the best of the Tagalogs, under the leadership of Arelliano and Torres, repudiated the government of Aguinaldo, and came into our lines with their adherence and support. The very congress that Aguinaldo had gathered at Malolos voted to accept the terms offered by the first Philippine Commission, but he refused to act upon their decision. A noble tribute to the Declaration of Independence it would have been indeed to deliver the people of Negros and the commerce of Manila and the patient and unconsenting millions of all other tribes but the Tagalogs into the hands of the assassin Aguinaldo, of the bandit Del Pilar, and the authors of the massacre order of February 15, 1899.

The second specification under the charge of imperialism is, in substance, that the exercise of government must be over the people of the Philippine Islands as subjects, if not as citizens, and that this exercise of power over others will be destructive to our national character and institutions. A republic cannot have subjects and live, it is said. We have survived the government of Louisiana and the Northwest Territory and New Mexico and Alaska and many other territories in which the people of the United States as a whole have governed the people of the territory with as much authority and power as need be exercised in the Philippine Islands. The true proposition is the precise reverse of the charge which is made. The government of the Philippine Islands will not affect the character of our institutions, but the character of our institutions will determine and mould the government of the Philippine Islands. To govern as a despot would be fatal to the character of a republic, but to govern as Congress always has and always will govern in territory outside of the limits of the States, in accordance with the spirit of our institutions, subject to all the great rules of liberty and right, and responsible for every act to a great liberty-loving people can but extend and strengthen our institutions.

"You are doing what England did when we rebelled against taxation without representation," says Mr. Bryan. Strange perversion. It was taxation for the benefit of England against which we rebelled. Where has there been a

dollar taken by taxation for the benefit or use of the United States from any island ceded by Spain? There has been no taxation in the Philippines or in Porto Rico except the ordinary taxes which the people have paid for the support of their own government, and the expenses of maintaining law and order and education among themselves.

Let me show you what kind of government exists to-day in the Philippine Islands. I read from the instructions of the President to the present Commission, which entered upon legislative power in those islands on the 1st of September, last:

“In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

“The many different degrees of civilization and varieties of custom and capacity among the people of the different islands preclude very definite instruction as to the part which the people shall take in the selection of their own officers; but these general rules are to be observed: That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others.

“In the constitution of departmental or provincial governments, they will give especial attention to the existing government of the Island of Negros, constituted, with the approval of the people of that island, under the order of the military governor of July 22, 1899, and after verifying, so far as may be practicable, the reports of the successful working of that government, they will be guided by the experience thus acquired, so far as it may be applicable to the condition existing in other portions of the Philippines.

"The Central Government of the islands, following the example of the distribution of the powers between the States and the National Government of the United States, shall have no direct administration except of matters of purely general concern, and shall have only such supervision and control over local governments as may be necessary to secure and enforce faithful and efficient administration by local officers.

"Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines, must be imposed these inviolable rules :

"That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder, or ex-post-facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed.

"The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on the 13th day of August, 1898, concluded with these words :

" 'This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all descriptions, are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army.'

"I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the Government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine Islands. I charge this commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States.

"WILLIAM MCKINLEY."

Is that imperialism? Will giving that kind of government to these poor people who have suffered so long under Spanish tyranny degrade the character of this republic? No. The party which governs the city of New York, the party which governs Mississippi and North Carolina, with their class of hereditary voters, may distrust its capacity to maintain its virtue while it governs others, but American love of liberty and justice will be as living a force in those islands of the sea as it has been through all the years on the Atlantic and the Lakes and the plains of our own land. The doing of justice to these wards of our nation, and the leading of their steps along the pathway of liberty and progress will bring not injury but the strength and benefit which always comes from unselfish effort for the good of others.

Our opponents will not believe any of the American officers, civil or military, in the Philippine Islands, or all of them put together, when they tell us that the great mass of the people in those Islands are favorable to American rather than to Tagalog rule.

Let me give you another bit of testimony from a Tagalog pen. It is a letter from a Tagalog officer to Sandico, Colonel and Chief of Staff, Aguinaldo's Secretary of Interior and chief lieutenant:

"SR. TEODORO SANDICO, Colonel,

"First Military Chief of Staff in Santo Domingo.

"My Respected Chief and dear brother:

"I have received your respected order, regarding the organization of the 'Comite' in the towns of Zaragosa, Aliaga and Licab; from the movements and actions of these towns, I don't believe it possible to



organize immediately. Before we can, it will be necessary that four or five lives be taken in each town. I believe that what ought to be done to those towns is to make a new conquest of them, especially the town of San Juan de Guimba; it is difficult there to set straight the Tagalos and Ilocanos of importance, as they are badly inclined and they care to do nothing but pervert our soldiers. This is what I am able to inform you in fulfillment of the respected order of the Chief.

God guard you many years,

"SAN CRISTOBAL, 3rd August, 1900. C. GONZALES."

Four or five lives in each town means that the support of these people to the Tagalog cause shall be procured through the terror produced by that number of assassinations. With that accomplished, Tagalog rule in the provinces of Ilocanos would forthwith assume those just powers which are derived from the consent of the governed.

You have been told that the present activity of guerrillas in the Philippine Islands, who, from their hiding places in the mountains, ambush and murder our troops and the friendly natives, is the result, under express and explicit orders from Aguinaldo, of a desire to maintain a show of resistance, in the hope of Mr. Bryan's election, and for the purpose of producing an effect upon the people of the United States which will promote that election. General MacArthur has reported this. Judge Taft has reported it. General Wright, sturdy Democrat of Tennessee, has reported it. The whole Philippine Commission has reported it. But, of course, the opposition will not believe them. They are Americans. Let me give you testimony that even they will not dispute!

#### GENERAL ORDER TO THE PHILIPPINE ARMY, No. 202.

"As I have in previous letters directed that all  
 "Commanders of Guerrillas are free to attack any de-  
 "tachment or post of the enemy, and continually  
 "molest the same: I reiterate the order the more  
 "strongly, because its fulfillment just now is very  
 "necessary for the advantage of the cause of inde-  
 "pendence of the Philippines in the approaching  
 "Presidential election in the United States of America,  
 "which takes place in the early part of the coming  
 "month of September of the present year; on account  
 "of which, it is imperative that before that day comes,  
 "that is to say, during the months of June, July and  
 "August, we give such hard knocks to the Americans

“ that they will resound in our favor in all parts, and  
 “ set in motion the fall of the Imperialist party, which  
 “ is trying to enslave us.

“ Date, 27th of June, 1900.

“ Signed by the Captain-General,

“ E. AGUINALDO.”

Under that order, and others like it, the guerrillas of the Philippines killed on the 4th of September private David Allen, bricklayer, of Tyrone, Pennsylvania, on the 13th of September private William Andrews, painter of Atlanta, Georgia, on the 21st of July, corporal Warren Billman, farmer of New Marion, Indiana, on the 19th of July sergeant Albert Cockayne, steam-fitter of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on the 24th of August private William Christman, machinist of Hartford, Connecticut, and down to the 15th of October 84 others—89 officers and men, and they grievously wounded many more—all without purpose or reason or expectation of benefit, except upon the hopes held out to them by the Kansas City platform and the belief that it was important to Mr. Bryan's cause that America should seem unsuccessful in the Philippines.

How truly these murdered countrymen of ours could have echoed Lawton's words:

“ I would to God that the truth of this whole Philippine situation could be known to every one in America as I know it.

“ If the real history, inspirations and conditions of this insurrection, and the influences, local and external, that now encourage the enemy, as well as the actual possibilities of these islands and peoples and their relations to this great East, could be understood at home, we would hear no more talk of unjust ‘shooting of government’ into the Filipinos, or of hauling down our flag in the Philippines.

“ If the so-called anti-imperialists would honestly ascertain the truth on the ground and not in distant America, they, whom I believe to be honest men and misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their statements and conclusions and of the unfortunate effect of their publications here.

“ If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men, because I know from observations confirmed by captured prisoners that the continuance of fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America.”

I will not say that the men who are encouraging the Filipino soldiers here are traitors to their country. I do not think they know what it is they do. But I will say, and I think with justice, that the men who are reviling and belittling America here, and the men who are shooting from ambush there, are allies in the same cause, and both are enemies to the interests and credit of our country.

In the place of the old motto "My country, right or wrong," we are told that we should adopt that other motto, "My country when right, and when wrong to be put right." But who is to be judge as between you and your country? Is it the full measure of patriotic citizenship to be for your country when it agrees with you, and against it when it does not? I cannot so estimate the impulses of loyalty. In the great tribunal of public opinion I shall strive always to bring my countrymen to the adoption of my views, but if their judgment, differing from mine, becomes the basis of national action and the cause of national conflict, I can find no satisfaction in the triumph of her foe; neither logic nor pride of opinion will soften the pain with which I greet the death of her defenders; with all my heart and soul and hopes and prayers I am always for my country and her victory, and in no other spirit do I see aught but discord, the dissolution of allegiance and the death of loyalty.

It is said that we have not acted fairly towards the people of Porto Rico. The charge has no foundation, unless in ignorance or malice. We have given to the people of Porto Rico the most munificent gift ever conferred upon one people by another—the free markets of the United States. The President recommended that the customs duties between the United States and Porto Rico should be removed, and Congress passed a law providing for their removal. It provided for the immediate removal of 85 per cent of the duties under the Dingley-Tariff, and for the removal of the remaining 15 per cent whenever the people of Porto Rico should be able by any other form of taxation to pay for the support of their own government, with the proviso that at the end of two years this remnant of duties should cease absolutely, whether the Porto Ricans supported their own government or not. We receive none of the duties. The duties collected at both ends of the line are paid into the treasury of the island. I know of no reason why the Porto Ricans should not pay for their own courts and schools and police. It is much better for them than to be treated as paupers. They do not complain of it! They have no right to complain of it! The reason why this temporary provision for the payment of their ex-

penses is made is that they have no reasonable and fair tax laws, and it is necessary to devise new and fair laws in the place of the oppressive and unreasonable old Spanish laws which were in existence. It takes time to change a system of taxation! It affects every industry and every interest in the country! Time had to be taken for the people of Porto Rico to be heard upon the kind and the amounts of taxation to be levied upon the different classes of property and of industry in their island. We have got the best men we could find in the country there helping them to devise a good tax law, and when it has been devised and adopted by their legislature, which will be elected next month, then it will take more time to impose the taxes and realize money upon them. in the meantime their means of supporting their government is this temporary 15 per. cent of the Dingley duties which was left on by Congress for not exceeding two years for that express purpose.

Mr. Bryan says that trusts have grown to an unprecedented degree during the present Administration. Yes, the great industrial enterprises which are opening the whole world to American markets, which are sending near five hundred millions of American manufactures abroad during this year, to pay the wages and swell the savings bank accounts of American laborers, have grown beyond precedence. Some of them are monopolies and ought to be suppressed. Most of them have no element of monopoly whatever except that which comes from selling cheaper than other competitors, and that is not monopoly but competition. Most of them are conducting the business which is free to any one on earth who has the intelligence and the skill to conduct a manufacture. Would he destroy them all? Would he close all the furnaces and all the factories and all the mines because he sees no difference between those enterprises which are, and those which are not, monopolies, or would he consent that some one should sit down and scrutinize the different enterprises and ascertain which are good and which are bad and attack only the bad? He has been trying to turn what he calls "The Starch Trust" out of Nebraska. There can no more be a monopoly in the manufacture of starch than there can be a monopoly in the consumption of corn. Nobody can make starch who does not know how, and any one can make starch who knows how and can get corn to make it with. The trouble with Mr. Bryan's treatment of trusts is that he treats them not as a matter of business, but as a matter of politics, and he thinks that a general and indiscriminate denunciation of these great industrial enterprises which

are employing the labor and increasing the wealth of America is a good campaign cry.

He has proposed two remedies for trusts ; one is an amendment to the Constitution of the United States placing the control of them in the Federal Government ; the other is a law forbidding any business concern manufacturing in one State from selling or transacting any business connected therewith in another State without a license from authorities in Washington. Shade of Jefferson ! What doctrines are these to be preached in thy name ? This is "Imperialism" indeed. This would concentrate in the government at Washington entire and absolute control over every business interest in the country, for no business above the dignity of the retail store is confined within the limits of any State. The summary judgment of the officer who must issue or withhold the license would constitute a power for favoritism and oppression appalling to contemplate. Such destruction of State rights, such centering of power in the Federal Government, has never before been suggested. Coming from the Democratic party it is grotesque and absurd. No party will ever seriously consider it. It is but the crude and inconsiderate suggestion of a campaign orator designed for oratorical uses only.

It is charged that the present Administration is in favor of increasing the regular army, and this is said to be *militarism*, a crime that endangers the liberty of the republic. It is said that the President, in his message to Congress in the fall of 1898, asked that the number be fixed at one hundred thousand (100,000). That was a reduction, not an increase. On the 1st of September, 1898, we had 272,000 soldiers under arms—56,000 regulars and 216,000 volunteers. When the President's message was sent to Congress the protocol had been signed, but the treaty had not been signed, peace had not been made, Spain had not evacuated Cuba, a hostile army surrounded our troops in Manila. It would have been folly to disband our army as the preliminary to negotiations, and the President could have retained that entire army until after the ratification of the treaty of peace in April, 1899. The volunteers were anxious and insistent upon being permitted to return to their homes, and what the President asked of Congress was to authorize the enlistment of 44,000 in the regular army to take the place of 216,000 volunteers discharged ; that his advice was not unreasonable is shown by the fact that Congress at that very session, by the votes of both parties, authorized an army of the precise number for which the President called, making it 65,000 regulars and 35,000 new volunteers.

What is the regular army of the United States? It is a body of American citizens provided for by the Constitution, and organized in the year 1789 under the first Presidency of George Washington. Its duty is to man the sea-coast fortifications, which protect our harbors and great cities against hostile attack, and to garrison the military posts along our frontiers, and at such strategic points in the country as Congress determines to be suitable; to be always ready to fight for their country in any sudden emergency which may come upon us before there is time to raise a volunteer force, and during the time while such a force is being raised; to constantly study, experiment upon, and exercise with all the improvements in military science, both in arms, ammunition, equipment, supplies, sanitation, transportation, drill and tactics; to furnish a nucleus of officers and men thoroughly familiar with the business, for the strengthening and more ready instruction of a volunteer army whenever that shall become necessary. The kind of emergency which the regular army has to meet is well illustrated by recent events in China. Far from us as China is our troops were sent there and did their business, and are coming away again, in less time than it would have been possible to raise and equip and prepare a single regiment of volunteers. This was because the troops and the transports and material were ready to move on the instant.

The authorized number of the regular army to-day is 65,000, but on the 30th of June next it will, unless there be further legislation in the meantime, be reduced to 27,500, substantially the number at which it has stood for the past twenty-seven years; but as the country has grown in its population and its multitude of interests, as our sea-coast fortifications have been increased, under the leadership of Samuel J. Tilden, and upon plans prepared by the first Administration of Cleveland, as the art of war has become more scientific and complicated, more men are necessary to perform the same duties than were able to perform them years ago. The army of 27,500 is only about one-third as large in proportion to our population as our army was thirty years ago. The question how large the army should be is a simple business question as to how many men are necessary to perform certain specific duties. The last Congress fixed upon 100,000 in view of the conditions then existing. The next session of Congress will probably determine how many are requisite under the conditions then existing. Specially belligerent people will probably ask for too many; specially economical Congressmen will probably insist upon too few. I think we can assume that about the right conclusion will be reached.

Now does any sane American honestly believe that this threatens the liberties or the institutions of our country? Why, President McKinley had 272,000 men in arms at the close of the Spanish war. Grant had an army of 1,052,000 on the 30th of April, 1865, and they melted away into the peaceable body of the people like snowflakes in May. But these are volunteers, it will be said. Well, all the soldiers of the regular army are volunteers. Never in the history of the army has there been a man drafted or forced into it against his will. Their term of enlistment is but three years, and at the end of that time they go back to the occupations of civil life. They are all Americans. They are intelligent Americans. None are admitted who cannot read and write. They are sound, wholesome Americans, of good habits and regular lives, for none are admitted who are not in perfect health. Nineteen thousand five hundred and forty-nine men were enlisted in the year ending the 30th of last June to take the place of those whose terms had expired, and those 19,549 were selected out of 89,243 applicants—19,549 accepted and 69,694 rejected as not up to the standard intellectually or physically. They all swear allegiance, not to a Monarch or a President, but to the United States of America. They, like the volunteer, come from American homes. The flag of their country floats always over them. They are surrounded by the memories and the traditions of comrades who have died for it. They breathe the atmosphere of probity and self-respect; for I call you all to witness that wherever in all its history the American Army has gone, whether in the States or the Territories, whether in Mexico or Cuba, or Porto Rico, or the Philippines or China, there the American people have relied with confidence and with reason upon an administration, both military and civil, marked by integrity and honor. They are conspicuous in the arts of peace. Where they go law and order and justice and charity and education and religion follow. They are not only enduring under hardship and brave in danger, but they are patient under provocation and magnanimous after victory. During these last years in the Spanish Islands they have been administering the civil law with justice and moderation. They have been feeding the hungry and clothing the naked and protecting the weak and cleaning the foul cities and establishing hospitals and organizing and opening schools and building roads and encouraging commerce and teaching people how to take the first steps in self-government with cheerful industry and zeal. I challenge their detractors to say whether, in any



community where they have been, in all the years of the regular army, the officers and men have not always borne themselves as simple, unassuming, unpretentious American citizens. I challenge them to point to a single act of oppression, in all these one hundred and eleven years, to a single act of disloyalty on the part of the regular army, to the supremacy of civil law and the principles of our free constitutional government.

"I believe," says Mr. Bryan, at New York, "that one of the reasons that they want a large army is to build a fort in this city and use the army to suppress by force that discontent that ought to be cured by legislation." What warrant has he for that belief? When or by whom has such a thing been attempted? Does he not know that it is expressly forbidden by the statutes of the United States? Does he not know that there is a constant effort on the part of the War Department to prevent establishing army posts and a constant pressure by the people of our cities to secure their establishment? Let him undertake to secure the removal of Fort Crook from the city of Omaha and see what response he would receive from its people. Let him ask why Iowa, just eastward of him, obtained the passage of a bill by Congress at the last session for the establishment of a post at Des Moines. Let him inquire why Tacoma and Seattle are contending as to which city shall have the establishment of a new post now; why the people of Prescott, Arizona, are protesting against the removal of Fort Whipple; why the representatives of Texas are urging the increase of the garrison at Fort Sam Houston; why the people of Atlanta are sending delegations to secure headquarters there; and he will learn that the people of the United States, instead of fearing, desire, the establishment of army posts in their neighborhoods because they know that this pretended apprehension is but the idle vapping of a campaign orator.

"The growing practice of using the army to repress labor," says Mr. Bryan. When and where has the army been used to repress labor? Never anywhere. Twice only in the past twenty years it has been used in any domestic affair. Once in 1896 when a Democratic President, Mr. Cleveland, sent troops to Chicago to protect the mails, and again in 1899, when, upon a formal requisition by the Democratic Governor of Idaho, certifying in accordance with the constitution and the laws, that insurrection existed, which the State authorities were unable to repress, the President, in the performance of his constitutional duty, sent 653 officers and men into the Cœur D'Alene to aid the civil officers of the State to protect life and property.



"They are idlers," says Mr. Bryan. The records of the War Department show that since the organization of the regular army it has fought 2,545 separate engagements. In the War of 1812, in the Mexican War, in the Civil War, in the Indian Wars, in the Spanish War, in the Philippine War, it has endured hardships and privations and wounds and death. It has been the safeguard and protection of the settlers as they spread out over the West. Its men have fainted under the torrid heats of summer, and frozen under the bitter cold of winter, and nowhere have they faltered or been faithless to their trust. It has given to the country Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and Thomas and Meade and Hancock. It has given to our later memories Lawton and Liscum and Riley. It did not idle in Mexico. It did not idle when the Union was threatened. It never idled on the plains when the frontier settlements were to be rescued from savage foes. There was no idleness at San Juan and El Caney. There was no idleness in Lawton's swift, resistless march that broke the power of Tagalog rule in Luzon. Did Liscum idle before the walls of Tien-tsin? Did Riley upon the walls of Peking? The women of the legations did not deem Chaffee and his battalions idle when they wept over their children in the joy of rescue. Real soldiers who have learned their business and attend to it, in peace and in war, work hard, work long, work early and work late.

Upon the undisputable proof of more than a century's faithful service, the American soldier is not a danger to liberty and law and peace, but their defender. He has earned honor and confidence and gratitude from the American people, and I challenge the just judgment of the people as between him and the men who, for their own selfish purpose, are aspersing and maligning him while in distant lands he is braving hardship and disease and wounds and death in defense of our country's flag.

Are our opponents sincere? Is Mr. Bryan, who four years ago made his campaign upon the money issue and talked of nothing but money, and so eloquently bewailed the empty dinner pail, really sincere in pronouncing the full dinner pail to be a sordid issue? Is the party which is governing and avows its intention to still govern ten millions of black citizens in the South, without their consent, whether by law or fraud or force, really disturbed about imperialism and the Declaration of Independence? Was that distinguished company which gathered in the Louis XIV room of the Hoffman House and ate their twenty-dollar dinner, with Mayor Van Wyck, of the Ice Trust, as presiding officer, and Richard

Croker, of the Ice Trust, as presiding genius, and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Jones, of the Cotton Bale Trust, as the director of the campaign—were they really solicitous about the evils of trusts and agonizing for the delivery of their countrymen from their effects?

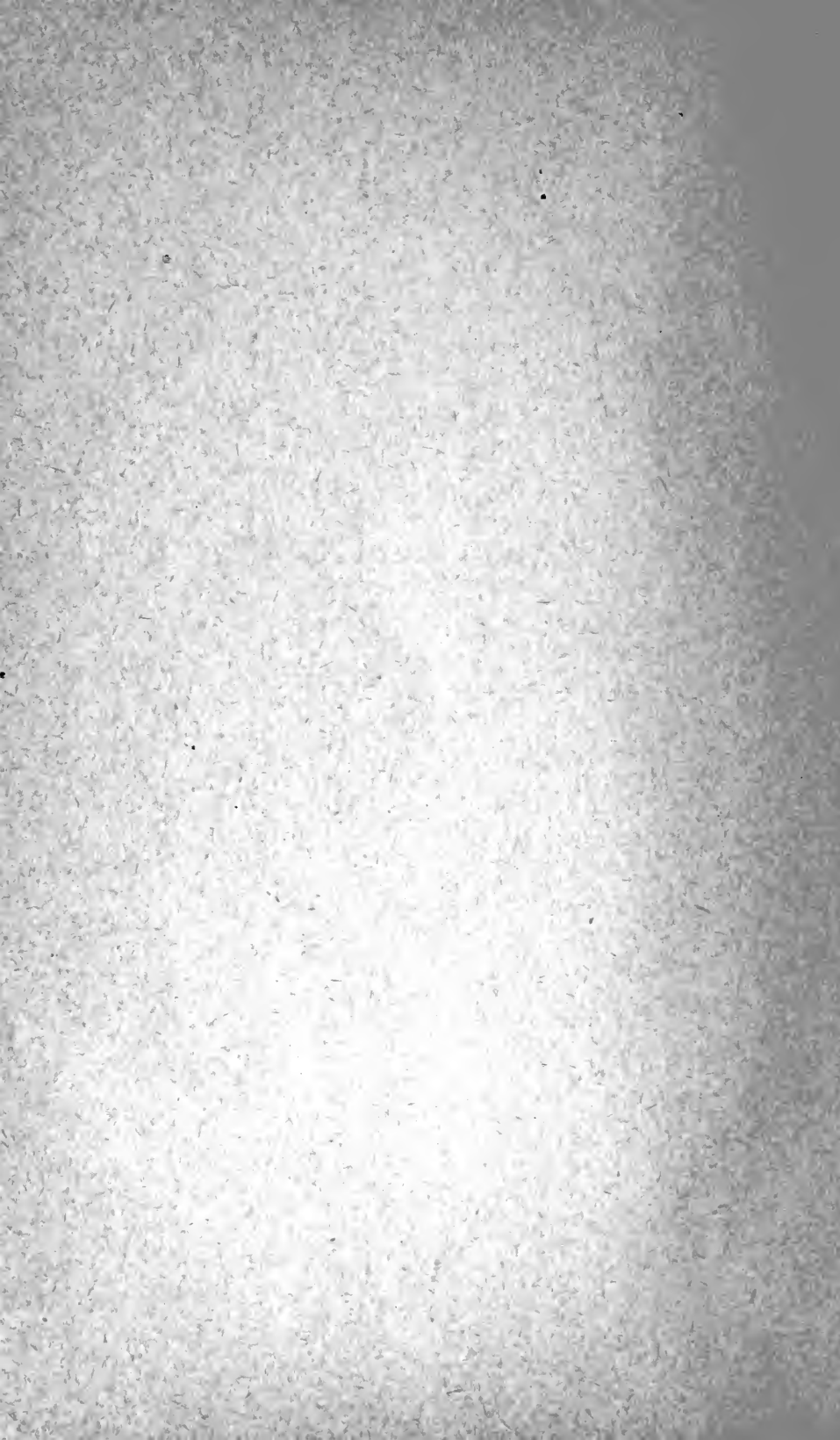
What evidence have these men given of capacity to govern? What warrant have we but their own promises that the men who would constitute the next administration, if the change be made, are competent to perform the great and difficult duties of government? What proof has their chosen leader ever given of capacity in public affairs? He has eloquently expounded many theories. Has any theory of his which has come to the test ever proved to be right? He eloquently denounced a protective tariff. Was he right? He eloquently declared that if the mints were not immediately opened to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, ruin and desolation would be the fate of America during the four years now closing. Was he right? During all its history the American people has selected for its Presidents men of tried and proved public service, whose capacity for safe, conservative and experienced administration had been demonstrated to the knowledge of all the people. Now they are asked to put the reins of government and all the vast interests upon which our happiness depends, in the hands of a man who never did anything but talk, and never was right in anything that he said.

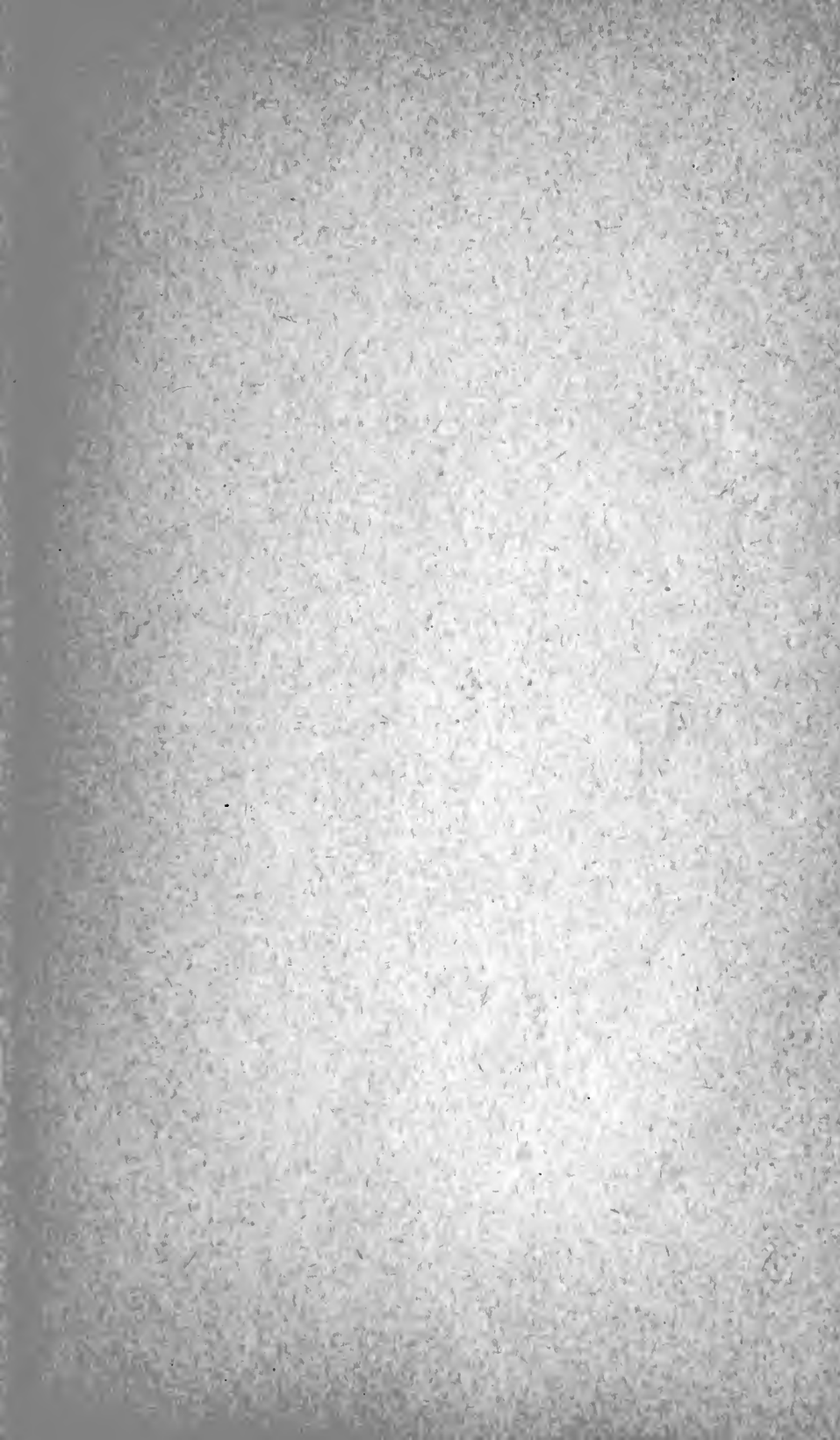
When, during all the years that Mr. Bryan has been a leader of opinion, has he lifted a hand to aid his country in any one of the hard tasks with which it has been grappling? When has there been one word of praise or credit for America or American institutions, or American government, or for any of the men who represent the dignity of the people by the people's choice? When has there been from him aught but depreciation and disparagement and discredit for everything that is, and everything that is done in our country? When has there come from him one word of encouragement or hope, one word to cheer the path of labor, to fire the ambition of youth, to confirm or to increase the American people's confidence in their institutions and loyalty to their flag?

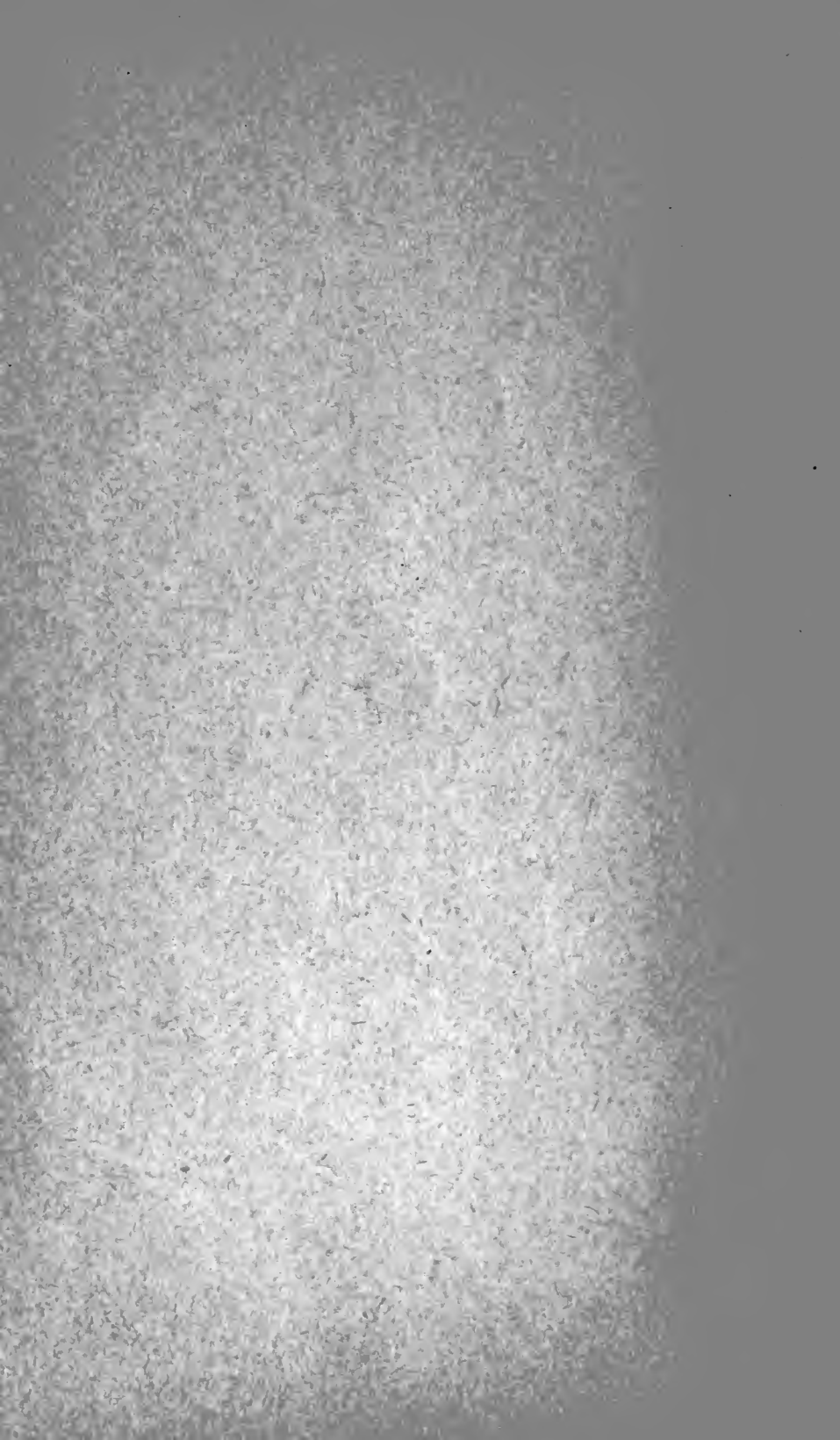
Every business is best managed by its friends, every undertaking is best prosecuted by those who have faith in it. Is it not the wisest course of the American people to leave the conduct of their affairs in the hands of those who believe that this is not the worst, but the best government on earth; that it is not the most miserable, but the most happy of lands; that we have before us not the darkest, but the most

brilliant and glorious future of all the peoples who inhabit the earth?

To whom is the American people expected to commit the momentous interests which it is asked to take away from President McKinley, but to a motley and incongruous crowd gathered from three parties, agreeing upon no single principle or policy except the free coinage of silver, and held together only for campaign purposes, by sympathy of common detraction against all the glorious achievements of American progress under both political parties during the past generation? They are peddlers of political discontent who, with shifty eyes for the prejudices of each community, draw from their pack, anti-trust arguments for expansionists, anti-expansion arguments for sound money men, and anti-gold arguments for silver men; and always and everywhere seeking to stir up bitterness and hatred by Americans against Americans. They seek to substitute for the old and happily-ended conflict of section against section, a new conflict of class against class. They strike at the root of free government, with the delusive promises of the demagogue, leading the poor and the unfortunate to look to government rather than to intelligence and thrift to make them rich and strong. They strike at the life of enterprise by challenging the right of the successful to the fruits of enterprise. The strength of free institutions in America has rested for all these centuries past upon the fact that there were no classes in America; that all men were equal before the law—equal in the rights of citizenship, equal in the dignity of manhood, unfettered in the pursuit of limitless opportunity; that the poor and humble to-day, having the qualities of intelligence and enterprise, are the rich and powerful to-morrow; that the rich and powerful to-day, lacking these qualities, are the poor and humble to-morrow; that all over the land the poorest workingmen who may no longer seek to change their own condition are looking with pride and hope upon their boys starting out upon their careers with advantages their fathers never had, with open pathways to distinction and wealth. With these conditions, which have always existed, and which exist to-day, there is no such thing as class. No gulf divides American citizens from each other. There is but one ideal, one title of honor, of pride and of mutual respect—the ideal and the title of American citizenship. All this these men would destroy in order that they may ride into power as the governors of an unhappy and discordant people.









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